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EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION: AN INTERIM APPRAISAL

Charles Side Steinberg

THE BACKGROUND

In April of 1952, after many months of pro and con testimony from leaders of education, from commercial broadcasters and from heads of national opinion-making organizations, the Federal Communications Commission issued its Sixth Report and Order, setting up a table of television channel assignments throughout the United States. Two-hundred and forty-two of these were reserved exclusively for educators over an undetermined time limit. The total was subsequently increased to two-hundred and fifty-two educational stations.

At first blush, it appeared that the educational stations were to be on exclusive reservation for about one year only, until June, 1953, but in response to numerous demands for clarification (including that of the late Senator Tobey, who insisted that the reservation stand "until hell freezes over"), the F.C.C. clarified its ruling by pointing out that the reservation did not expire if not used by June, 1953, but that commercial broadcasters could petition for a change of franchise if educational stations were not activated. This contingency is largely academic, at present, for the broadcasters have not petitioned vigorously for any of the stations.

What is not an academic problem, however, is the ultimate fate of the educational stations and, at the same time the potential of educational television programming for a growing and cultivated audience who look for something superior from what commercial TV has offered to date. It is significant to note that only part of the educational reservations were in the very high frequency range—the conventional channels 2-13—while many more were ultra high frequency—which meant that the viewer could not re-

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ceive educational broadcasts without the aid of a special converting apparatus. This was a handicap, but not nearly so formidable as the other problems of financial necessity, lack of trained personnel and the pressure of time. Upon the announcing of the allocation plan, Wayne Coy (then F.C.C. chairman) asked for a "clear and immediate response" on the part of educators that the reserved channels would be used in the educational process. On the other hand, Ralph Steel (Executive Director of the Joint Committee on Educational Television) was "confident" that educational agencies would move forward "immediately" to construct and operate stations.

How "immediate" has been the response? Is there pragmatic evidence that an appreciable number of educational institutions have moved forward to construct and operate stations? Is there evidence of potential use of the exclusive channels for education in the foreseeable future? Are educators financially able to assume responsibility for the activation of stations? If not, is "voluntary cooperation" between broadcaster and educator the solution to the problem of reserving space on the television spectrum for education?

These are the problems, implicit and explicit, which face educators three years after the F.C.C. allocation plan went into effect. What conclusions can be drawn with respect to them? And what pertinent recommendations can be proposed?

SUMMARY OF THE CASE OF THE EDUCATORS

Educators throughout the country showed overwhelming interest in, and support of the idea of reserving space on the television spectrum for education. The formation of the Joint Committee on Educational Television, which represents seven major professional educational organizations is one of the prime examples in the history of American education where educators joined resolutely in the achievement of an objective. Further, the case of the Joint Committee was buttressed by the individual sworn testimony of representatives from such institutions as the United States Office of Education, the National Education Association, the American Medical Association; and by an eight-part brief of supplementary sworn testimony from 800 educational institutions throughout the United States. Supported by funds from the Fund For Adult Education, an independent unit set up by the Ford Foundation, the efforts of the Joint Committee on Educational Television were subsequently given further impetus by the establishment of the National Citizens Committee for Educational Television, and by the setting up of an

educational television film exchange center. A summary of the testimony of the educators before the F.C.C. follows:

1. The educators showed a need for educational television, and this evidence of need received widespread support in the nation's press, including a powerful supporting editorial in the mass-circulation Life Magazine. Since television is the newest and most challenging medium of mass communications, since it is the most important tool since the invention of printing, educators convinced the F.C.C. that the educational community must have a part in the development of the television medium.
2. It is in the public interest that educators have channels reserved on an exclusive basis. Unless the F.C.C. makes room on the spectrum for education, all space and all channels, both VHF and UHF, will be allocated to commercial interests and the educator's stake in the television medium will be lost forever.
3. The air waves, like other portions of the public domain, should be reserved, in part at least, for use by educators. The representative from the National Education Association pointed out that portions of the public domain have been reserved for educators—and the air waves are part of the public domain.
4. It is in the interest of democracy that educators have access to media of communication.

In summary, the argument of the educators was predicated on the conviction that commercial television had failed to contribute anything tangible to education, that there must be a place for education in the development of so important a medium of communication as television, and that there was a genuine need for channels to be reserved for education before they were preempted by commercial interests. Basic to the argument in favor of reserving channels, however, is the explicit conclusion that education and television have much to contribute to each other. Educational television is the newest, and perhaps the most important, adjunct to the educator's armamentarium of audio-visual materials. It combines the best qualities of radio and motion pictures, with an additional sense of visual immediacy. Educational television would provide additional educational opportunity to millions by means of programs to shut-ins, to adults who had not completed their education, to housewives, to children, to the geriatric group, etc. Educational television would add signifi-

cantly to extension projects, to in-service training, to professional education (via closed circuit programming) to the *quality* of children's programming. Educational television is an important factor in the public relations problem of getting the objectives and contributions of educational institutions over to the community. Educators have tremendous resources for educational television in the schools themselves, in museums, libraries, art galleries, and other community cultural institutions. Educational television, therefore, possesses distinct educational advantages which do not inhere in any other medium of instruction or communication. Educators therefore must harness television to education.

Because of what it can contribute, and because commercial broadcasting cannot make this contribution, educators concluded that educational television must have a status independent of commercial interests. Since educators need more time than commercial broadcasters, the F. C. C. must reserve channels for educational use on an exclusive basis.

SUMMARY OF THE CASE OF THE BROADCASTERS

On the other hand, the commercial broadcasters, as represented by the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, went on record before the F. C. C. as not opposed to educational television on an absolute basis, but rather on a relative one. Although the broadcasters were of the opinion that television had much to contribute to education, and vice versa, they were "dubious" about the reservation of frequencies for an excessive period, dubious about the educators' ability to pay. According to the broadcasters, as represented by Justin Miller, "voluntary cooperation" between a willing broadcaster and a willing educator was the most feasible and practical solution to the problem of finding a place for education in the television spectrum. At the same time, it was asserted that commercial broadcasting contributed to education by way of its "spot" coverage of news worthy special events—a viewpoint which emphasized the qualitative differences between broadcaster and educator, for educators did not, in the main, consider this type of broadcast "educational."

In short, the official attitude of the broadcasters, so far as the National Association was concerned, may be summarized as not opposed to the *idea* that television is implicitly educational, not opposed specifically to the allocation (on a short term basis) of ultra high frequency channels, but unalterably opposed to the reservation of very High Frequency channels, i.e., channels 2-13. That the broadcasters were not opposed to the UHF reservation is not surprising,

however, because the ultra high portion of the spectrum had not been activated. The broadcasters raised several questions, designed to indicate that the F.C.C. allocation plan was a doubtful one:

1. Are not motion pictures and recordings better on an in-school level?
2. Would multi-lateral cooperation among educational institutions work out successfully, or would it lead to confusion in time schedules?
3. Should not educational institutions be concerned with their prime necessities, e.g., building and maintenance, faculty personnel, and other pressing budgetary problems?
4. If the channels are reserved indefinitely, and their use is postponed, would not legislatures delay indefinitely in earmarking funds?
5. Would it not be advisable for educators to buy time on commercial outlets, rather than to undertake the almost impossible task of constructing, operating, and maintaining television stations of their own?
6. Can educators adequately operate television stations efficiently?

THE F. C. C. ALLOCATION PLAN

Nevertheless, despite the rebuttal testimony of the broadcasters, the F. C. C., in its Sixth Report and Order of April 14, 1952, allocated 242 channels to educational institutions on an exclusive basis. The essential basis for the F. C. C. reservation plan was that the educators had shown a definite need for educational channels. Taking all of the testimony into consideration, plus the presentation of exhibits, the F. C. C. decision, in summary, was that educational channels were both an important and necessary aspect of television broadcasting. In order to assure that channels would not be preempted by commercial interests, the F. C. C. reserved them exclusively for educators. Such educational reservations took into consideration the needs of the population in both large metropolitan areas and in major educational areas, where the academic institution was the determining factor. It is important to note, in summarizing, that the F. C. C. reservation was "time limited" and that the situation would be surveyed from time to time to insure that channels do not go unused for excessive periods.

On the basis of the evidence presented, therefore, the F. C. C. decision was to reserve both VHF and UHF television channels exclusively for the use of educational institutions. This reservation plan was made in April, 1952. It was clarified in June, 1953. In that

interim, as well as subsequent to June, 1953, the Joint Committee on Educational Television, the National Citizens Committee for Educational Television, and the representatives of individual organizations went on the record with progress reports and with predictions as to the extent to which educational institutions would put the reserved channels to use. In the interim, and subsequently, educational institutions have had three years, either to put channels into actual use, or, by indicating when channels would be used, to reveal the national potential of exclusive educational television channels.

In the light of the evidence on the record, therefore, several additional summary facts and conclusions must be considered. That educators believed in the potential educational contribution of this newest medium of communications is clear. The allocation of 242 channels for their exclusive use set educators upon an unusually large number of meetings, conferences, and seminars devoted to the best ways and means to make the admitted potential of educational television a pragmatic reality. Former Governor Warren's California Conference on Educational TV was summarized in a bound volume of recommendations for the use of educational TV on every level. Governor Fine of Pennsylvania, strongly advocated educational television for that state. Governor Murray of Oklahoma set about to begin plans for educational stations in Oklahoma. The Fund For Adult Education, of the Ford Foundation, offered to contribute one-third of the funds to construct educational stations to any accredited institutions which showed evidence of financial responsibility to raise the remaining two-thirds of the necessary funds. The Emerson Radio Corporation offered \$10,000 to the first ten educational stations which went on the air. F. C. C. Commissioner Hennock worked tirelessly to help educational institutions to activate channels. The National Citizens Committee For Educational Television prepared a master guide for community support of educational stations. The press welcomed the F. C. C. allocation plan as a major contribution to bettering mass communications and education. With very few exceptions, commercial broadcasters made no overt effort to hinder progress, and there were instances of assistance from individual stations in many areas. Indeed, Ralph Steele, of the Joint Committee on Educational TV, in a letter to the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, went on record thanking the broadcasters for support and cooperation.

This summary is a matter of fact and record. There remains to be determined, however, the extent to which educational institutions moved forward to exercise their franchise and put stations into oper-

ation. For, admittedly, there is a qualitative and quantitative difference between a *proposal to use* and *actual or pragmatic fulfillment or use* of the reserved channels.

SURVEY OF EDUCATORS AND BROADCASTERS

The first part of the Joint Committee on Educational Television's eight-part brief, offered in evidence as sworn testimony before the F. C. C., stated that, in city-by-city hearings, the educational institutions of the nation had been given a chance to show whether they would use television in the educational process. "The response from educational institutions . . . has been clear and immediate," the brief points out. It should also be pointed out, however, that the "clear and immediate" response indicated that institutions *would use* television in education. The degree to which television channels *have been used*, therefore, would be at least one indication as to how far the immediate response of *intent* to use has been fulfilled by *actual* use. This now remains to be determined in the light of the accumulated evidence.

The writer's study of the eight-part brief showed that, while a majority of the institutions stressed educational need and offered strong support of the F. C. C. plan, a very small minority indicated financial responsibility or stated that the institution would support efforts to finance the projected station. At the same time several institutions stated that they were making a study and a fair number i.e., sixty institutions requested the reservation of a specific channel for their area, but did not indicate when the channel would be activated.

Using the JCET eight-part brief as a guide to educational institutions which testified in favor of the F. C. C. plan, and the official listing of extant television stations as a guide to commercial stations, the writer sent two questionnaires, respectively, to educational institutions and to commercial stations. Of the two-hundred and eighty-three responses to the educational questionnaire, practically all respondents were in favor of the allocation of channels exclusively for educational television. Most agreed that the deadline should be extended by the F. C. C., the majority favoring a) an unlimited reservation, b) a two year reservation, c) a five year reservation. While 47% indicated plans to use channels, only 21% indicated a specific date. But, one-hundred and two respondents (36%) indicated they had made no plans to activate channels. One-fourth favored turning channels over to commercial interests, if educators do not put them to use. Generally, the educational institutions agreed that commercial broadcasting does make "some contribution" to edu-

cation, and that commercial programs (if produced with the cooperation of educators) can be educationally significant. In general, educators did not favor "voluntary cooperation" with the broadcaster as an acceptable substitute for exclusive channels.

In determining the best way to apply television to education, there appears to be general agreement that, while in-school use is important, the most feasible category for use is the field of adult education. And, while a larger majority (71.0%) would advocate the use of school funds for educational television, 23.8% stated that financial support should come from the state legislature.

The survey of commercial broadcasters indicated that those fifty respondents who replied to the questionnaire were on record as not being opposed to educational television channels. The majority of commercial respondents favored either a one year or an indefinite reservation period. There appeared to be no opposition in principle to educational channels or reservations, *provided that* commercial prerogatives were not seriously curtailed. The commercial broadcasters agreed with educators that buying time on commercial outlets was not the solution to the problem of educational broadcasting. The commercial respondents, however, did favor "voluntary cooperation" between broadcaster and educator.

The listing of examples of cooperation with educational institutions, however, cannot be considered impressive, nor can the list of commercially-presented "educational" programs be termed "educational" when compared with the defined needs of educators, as presented to the F. C. C. by the Joint Committee on Educational Television.

In short, educational institutions overwhelmingly supported the F. C. C. proposal to reserve channels, while commercial stations were certainly not opposed to the use of ultra high frequency channels in particular, and to the "idea" of educational television in general. What success, therefore, have educators had in activating the reserved channels?

ACTION FOR—AND PROBLEMS FACING—EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

The first Joint Committee Progress Reports on "Action For Educational Television" show considerable activity. Indeed, report after report details "action for educational TV" by means of a listing of applications filed or pending, construction permits granted, or stations on the air. By December, 1953, six months after the clarification of the June 1 deadline, the Joint Committee reported two stations on the air, KUHT, Houston and KTUE, Los Angeles, and

forty-six applications filed. At the same time, it is important to note that one authority on communication media in education predicted that one-hundred educational stations would be actively broadcasting by 1954. The First National Conference on Educational TV reported meetings in forty-two states, with educational TV plans under consideration by thirty-two governors and state legislatures. A representative of the American Council on Education, predicted fifty stations on the air by 1955. The National Citizens Committee predicted twenty-seven stations on the air by the beginning of 1955, pointing out that in twenty-five states, other than Houston, progress is so well backed up by cash and equipment that "operating stations logically will become realities in the near future". In a speech in Minneapolis, in August of 1953, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins had predicted twenty educational video stations on the air by January, 1954.

With these predictions on the record, what is the actual—and potential—progress made toward the establishment of exclusive television channels for education? As of September, 1955, only 13 educational stations were on the air, out of a total reservation of 252 channels. And about half of these are in the ultra high range.

In the light of this evidence on the record, it is clear beyond any doubt that the predictions of twenty, fifty, or one-hundred educational TV stations on the air by 1955 are extravagant, to say the least. This is not to say, however, that educational TV stations are not necessary, that they cannot conceivably do a better educational job than commercial stations, or that the F. C. C. allocation plan was not well intentioned and is doomed to certain failure. It is clear, however, that there is a disparity between sworn testimony indicating *intent* to use and pragmatic success in *actual* use.

As a matter of record, despite the optimistic predictions, reputable and authoritative sources indicated that the actual achievements might not be as successful as the potential prognostications of the educators had hoped they would be. As early as June 7, 1953, the New York Times commented, "educational video off to a slow start". Although the reasons for the slowness of starting was not explicitly indicated, the record of events would appear to indicate that at least one major factor was the question of finances. In New York for example it was clear from the report of the State Temporary Commission that the legislature would not appropriate funds for any of the UHF channels allocated. In Connecticut, as of April, 1953, the Legislature's Educational Committee appointed a Committee to study the matter further.

In state after state the record points up the disparity between

intent to establish educational television, and *actual use* of the channels reserved for educational purposes. On the basis of the evidence, it is clear that, while the modus operandi of establishing educational video may be open to question, the *values* inherent in educational programming are unquestionable. This point is forcibly illustrated in the successful programming experiments at WOI-TV, Iowa, in Philadelphia, in Baltimore, in Syracuse, and elsewhere. It may be accepted as a basic assumption, therefore, that television, as a medium of communications, is a medium which possesses distinct educational potential. Further, this potential has not been realized in the bulk of commercial telecasts, thereby strengthening the need for educational channels or for some practical method whereby the educational potential of TV can be realized.

For educational purposes it may be assumed also that educational stations, under the supervision of educators, are preferable to commercial outlets. Educational stations will not be forced, as are commercial stations, to rely upon the caprice of sponsors and advertising budgets. Their function will be exclusively educational. Their contribution to adult education, by means of extension credit courses and direct programs to the home viewer, is well nigh incalculable. While commercial programs exists primarily to entertain, educational telecasting exists primarily as a purposeful cultural medium, designed to meet the educational needs of the viewers, to broaden the horizons of experience, to present a continuity of program material with the purpose of adding to the growth and maturity of the audience.

MAJOR PROBLEMS FOR EDUCATORS

These are solid objectives and solid potential contributions. The problem facing educators is how they are to be achieved. And in this connection, the questions raised by Dr. George Probst, of the University of Chicago and Commissioner Webster, of the F. C. C., are significant. Dr. Probst indicated that the three major hurdles faced by educators would be finances, programming and the urgency of time. Commissioner Webster asked simply where educators would get the funds to construct, operate, and maintain stations.

The most formidable problem of financing is not yet resolved, although it is clear, in the light of the evidence, that most legislatures are not inclined to invest in educational stations. The National Citizens Committee for Educational Television stresses that the support of the community is the most important factor; while the Joint Committee on Educational TV believes that there should be several sources of funds in addition to legislative support. It is questionable,

however, whether community support will be sufficiently sustained to keep an educational station maintained for any protracted period. On the other hand, individual philanthropy is capricious, as witnessed by the fact that the Allan Hancock Foundation withdrew its support of KTHE, Los Angeles, thereby putting the station in considerable financial jeopardy and finally forcing it to cease operating.

A second major problem confronting educational institutions is the problem of programming. It is argued that even the best program material precludes personal motivation and contact between student and teacher. On the other hand, it is also apparent that educational TV, as an audio-visual tool, is not intended to replace the pupil-teacher relationship, but rather to supplement it. Educational video is not a substitute for teaching, but a new tool for the teacher to apply.

In the light of the evidence, it is clear at this point that the best progress in educational television has not been made by utilizing its own stations, but rather by presenting program material, devised by educators, and presented over commercial stations with the cooperation of broadcasters. While the success of experiments in Philadelphia and elsewhere may have emphasized the potential accomplishments of educational television, the evidence at hand at this time points to the fact that progress in educational television has come about by means of educational-commercial cooperation. The limitations expressed by educators are, of course, still problems to be resolved, i.e., the limitation of time over commercial broadcast media and the capriciousness of a system which must depend primarily on business sponsors for support.

Still a third problem to be resolved is the question of time limitations. The F. C. C. reservations should stand indefinitely, it is argued by many, because educational TV is too important to be relegated. Further, once the space is assigned to commercial outlets, it will be virtually impossible for the educator to obtain a channel. While indefinite reservations may be possible for UHF channels, however, it is still questionable whether the F. C. C. will reserve the remaining VHF channels for an indefinite period. Indeed, at the present time, at least one F.C.C. Commissioner has seriously questioned the advisability of continuing the reservations. In an address before the Maryland Broadcasting Association, Commissioner Lee stated that 80% of the educational channels had not been utilized. Commenting editorially on Commissioner Lee's viewpoint, *Broadcasting and Telecasting Magazine* stated editorially:

"If there is a scarcity of VHF channels, as everyone admits, and if educational TV development has fallen hope-

lessly behind the educator's expectations, as can be proved, the Commission can no longer postpone consideration of the causes and effects of its reservation of 251 channels for non-commercial educational TV."

RECOMMENDATIONS

One cannot conclude, however, that the F.C.C. plan has been a total failure or that the reservations were a mistake. The National Citizens Committee and the Joint Committee are confident that the F. C. C. plan will resolve successfully, for community drives have raised several millions of dollars in assets for educational video. Thirteen stations are on the air as of September, 1955, and others are planning operation soon, while more than a hundred communities are still making plans for the future.

Although progress has been admittedly slow, it would appear to be premature for the F. C. C. to rescind its reservations entirely at the present time. It should be remembered that commercial stations had the right, after June 1, 1953, to petition for a change of channel from educational to commercial. This right still exists. Further, there are still an insufficient number of ultra high channels in operation to determine the efficacy of their use—and most F. C. C. reservations are in the UHF band. It would appear, therefore, in the light of the evidence gathered, that F. C. C. reservations for UHF Channels should continue to stand until this portion of the spectrum is more fully activated; that, where educational institutions do not use their VHF franchises, these stations be turned over to commercial outlets, and that in any event educational programming continue to receive experimental support, either by direct cooperation of the commercial outlet, by an appropriation of state or private funds for programming experiment, or by a combination of both. For, while actual progress has not lived up to expectations, the potential of educational TV has been established. That potential, revealed by the program experiments cited, is too important a factor in the educational life of the nation to be summarily relegated without investigating alternatives.

The major obstacle is, of course, the question of available time. How, educators ask, can commercial stations make precious evening time available for educational programs, when educators cannot possibly compete with the prices paid for time bought by national advertisers? But this presupposes that educators must pay for the time or that networks make time available as a public service. Still unexplored is the possibility of "voluntary cooperation" not merely between educator and broadcaster, but between educator and *sponsor*.

The Fund For Adult Education and many other agencies, are willing to sponsor educational stations, which, as yet, have not shown conclusively that they can go on the air and operate successfully. Would it not be equally feasible for public spirited sponsors to direct their funds and their support to sponsoring programs over the commercial stations, but under the aegis of educators? Certainly this solution is not beyond the realm of achievement—and the public would benefit, from an educational viewpoint, while the networks would not lose revenue.

As for funds (the major problem), it would appear that these must come from diverse sources. Certainly the same zeal which secured channel reservations for educators, should be directed toward a concentrated public relations campaign designed to enlist public support—for public support is frequently the root factor in legislative support. Meanwhile, no other source of funds can be neglected. The community, the foundations, the deriving of fees from courses, the support of the commercial networks and manufacturers themselves are potential sources of revenue.

But these achievements, at best, are in the realm of the potential. Even if funds are readily available, there is still the formidable problem of programming. For, the most successful educational programs have been produced largely with the cooperation of commercial stations. And that is why, primarily, one must question whether some form of voluntary cooperation is not, at this point, far more efficacious a procedure than a grim attempt to reserve channels for an indefinable future. If the public is to view educational programs *now*, and not several years from now, it would seem to be in the best interest of educators and public alike to find a feasible method of bringing television and education together. Through intelligent public relations on the part of the educator so as to gain public support, would not many public spirited industries sponsor educational programs? These programs, put on the air at the best hours, might find a receptive audience. Certainly such a plan is worthy of effort, for it would give educators an opportunity to use the TV medium *now*, and not wait until some future date to activate the channels reserved for them. Meanwhile, the channels would still be on reservation, but for a limited time. It may well be that such a program of cooperation would be the generating factor which would translate the potential of reserved channels into an active and functioning educational medium.

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AMERICAN AID TO EDUCATION IN FOREIGN LANDS

SOME OBSERVATIONS

Virgil A. Clift

I

Even before the days of Plato men had a concern for the role of education in creating a specific or particular type of society. It is now accepted that at the base or foundation of education there should exist values which will produce the type of society which the people or their leaders regard as being good and aspire to achieve. We may safely say that people in America think certain values are important in the realization of a better way of life. This attitude and the values accepted in the USA are believed to be good for people in the undeveloped areas of the world. People in the areas being helped by the USA say that they desire democracy and certainly they welcome the aid and assistance they are able to receive through foreign aid programs.

In many countries the USA is seeking to help through such programs as the International Educational Exchange Service and the International Cooperation Administration, questions are being raised as to the effectiveness of the programs. In many instances Americans serving in the program are not completely satisfied and those for whom the programs are designed do not feel that they are getting full value for the money being spent. According to a recent report "The U. S. is spending about 35 billion dollars a year—\$750 per family—on defense. Since the war it has passed out some 60 billion dollars—\$1,300 per family—in various forms of foreign aid."¹ From all indications the people in America feel that the programs on which the money is being spent are important. In terms of the amount being spent and the purposes for which it is intended, it is important that critical consideration be given to many factors in order to insure effective and desirable results.

In this country we hope through education and other means to help others to achieve a better way of life and a higher standard of living in the name and spirit of democracy. It is thought that the people in this troubled and confused world may be able to save themselves and bring order out of chaos only if they are willing to

¹ *Time, The Weekly Newsmagazine*, (Pacific Edition), Vol. LXIV, No. 23, Dec. 6, 1954, p. 9.

strive to realize the values basic to democracy and accept it in all areas of life.

The disposition and attitude of the American people as demonstrated through their efforts to help people who are less unfortunate is indeed noble. As noble and unselfish as their desires and efforts are, they are often misunderstood by those being helped. Also, many who are sent from the USA to render service understand little of the culture, the people, and the social climate in which they are to work.

In this paper it is intended to point out some of the observations made by American educators who have spent a year or longer in Pakistan which is one of the nations being assisted by several foreign aid programs. It is hoped through this presentation to stimulate thinking in America concerning problems which exist in foreign countries. Educators and administrators in the future need to look at the task which they are confronted more analytically and in the light of conditions which prevail on the foreign scene.

II

If our nation or any other nation is to be effective in rendering assistance that will encourage and give direction to democracy abroad, there are many social, economic, political and cultural conditions relating to the way of life and to education there which cannot be ignored. It is felt that a social group or a nation should understand something of where it is and much about the problems which confront it before striving to design elaborate programs to produce a better society and a better world. There are many mitigating problems and factors certainly to be found in any undeveloped area. Therefore, stated here in very brief form are those which are felt should receive prior consideration in the recently created nation of Pakistan and in other areas in the East. In any program operating for the benefit of foreign nations, much serious and critical thinking should be given to each factor listed below if programs of education and aid are to be as effective as they should be.

1. *The purpose, nature and system of education which has been adopted or inherited by the nation being assisted should be fully understood.* The people who live in Pakistan, as well as those in many other parts of Asia, have been a colonial people for 200 years. As a colonial people there were established for them many values and ideals in all areas of life which are not commensurate with those regarded as being basic to democracy in America. It may be safely said that for the most part colonies were acquired and maintained

for the benefit of the imperialistic nation or mother country. In some instances the policy of the imperialistic nation was to gain and hold an area of strategic importance. In other cases the imperialistic nation was concerned with economic benefits to be gained through markets for finished products or a source of raw materials.

The important thing to be understood is that the motives of imperialistic nations have not been to extend the democratic way of life as we conceive it to the people in the colony. Thus, there has developed, almost without exception in the backward areas of the world, a system of education for the sole purpose of furthering the designs and purposes of imperialism.² Colonial people, being human as they are, have learned to accept and respect the type of formal education to which they have been exposed. They have been taught that it was good. They have been taught its purposes without appraising them critically. They seldom examine the social values on which it is based. Therefore, when they have an opportunity to establish an educational program for themselves, they seriously believe that they should follow many of those things they have been taught.

New programs of education are supposed to be responsible for creating a free people; yet many people still insist on the same social values which have kept them for many, many years a subject people. The colonial leaders who are educated were selected by the imperialists to go to a foreign country for training and to return to the colony to hold certain administrative positions. These are the people with whom the American in foreign service must work. The citizen from the USA finds that many people with whom he works have become so completely indoctrinated in a system that they are intellectually blind to the fact that they should not accept "lock, stock and barrel" those things they have been taught in terms of values and ideals.

It is indeed difficult for people with vastly differing backgrounds and experiences to work together without experiencing some frustration and humiliation. Some people from the USA who go to the East to render service must recognize that they bring with them values which are completely foreign to the area and people where they are to work. The purposes, nature and systems of education to which the two groups have been exposed are very different and they are aimed specifically at producing different types of individuals and different types of societies.

² For a more lucid description of education and colonialism see: Dr. Gladys H. Bradley, "Education in Africa—The Problem of the Twentieth Century," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. XXIII, Winter 1954, No. 1, pp. 30-39.

2. *The influence of religion may make it difficult to re-interpret and to re-evaluate the ideals and values which are essential if man is to determine his own destiny and work out a better way of life for himself.* Without definition and detailed explanation, it is accepted that man for the most part is religious and has religious tendencies. There are many religions. Some are orthodox and others are not. In some it is insisted that a series of absolute values must be followed to the letter while in others it is recognized that man lives in a changing and evolving society and that it becomes necessary to re-examine the intention of religious laws in terms of their value in promoting the good life for all people concerned. It must also be recognized that in many places on this globe people accept a code of religious and spiritual laws which were written hundreds of years ago in terms of one specific meaning. Since the writing of these religious dictums the language has changed and the culture has changed, but the original meanings are still interpreted within the context of the original statements. In this situation there often seems to be no concern for the evolution of language and for the meanings it was originally intended to convey.

In many parts of Asia religion has a hold on the people similar to that which imperialism has had on the natives who have been educated under the system. Seemingly the spirit of interpreting and applying deeper and more significant meaning of it to daily living is not as important as blind and unquestioned acceptance of opinions which have developed in the past regarding religion or certain aspects of it.

When there exists taboos and religious interpretations which the masses of the people feel obligated to follow without reason, this is indeed a situation which must be viewed with critical examination by those from the West. Many scholars of religion, philosophy and society in the Eastern world realize that religious tenets often mitigate in their influence. They desire a re-interpretation and a redefinition, and on some occasions they are inclined to bring religion into closer relationship with daily life. But, on the other hand, they are frequently obsessed with a defeatist attitude to the extent that they do not think anything can be done about it. They seem to have little faith in the theory that man has control over the future while dealing with practical problems. Few occasions are given for man's use of intelligence in reading meanings and interpretations into religion.

3. *The economic welfare of a nation and the use to which the means and resources of the economy are put is important in the realization of democracy.* It is an impossible contradiction to believe that people

can for generations starve to death and yet be devoted to democratic principles. In a democracy there must be an opportunity for the people to use the resources of nature and the good earth for their own subsistence.

When a people are caught in a system that does not give them an opportunity to use the benefits of the land on which their fathers and grandfathers have given everything in hard labor to work out a meager living, all aspirations seem to be lost and the people lose sight of a higher vision for themselves and their posterity. Democracy cannot flourish in an economic system which has no regard for the importance of human beings.

4. *In the East there is a type of inertia, complacency and conservatism that is not easily understood by persons who have grown accustomed to the tempo of some parts of the Western World.* Henry David Thoreau once said, "Why should we be in such desperate haste to succeed and in such desperate enterprises? If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music which he hears, however measured or far away." After one spends some time in the East, he has a much deeper appreciation for the ideas expressed by Thoreau even though he may not agree with it.

The serious student of human affairs recognizes that many social and physical influences impinge upon the individual in many different parts of the world. Many of these influences have not been adequately defined by our most astute students in psychology, anthropology, physiology and the social sciences. We therefore are unable to draw specific conclusions as to why certain complacencies exist. However, those who find themselves working in undeveloped areas must find ways of dealing with attitudes of conservatism and complacency, the like of which they have never before experienced.

5. *The people with whom representatives from the USA must work have had almost no prior experience in trying to find solutions to their problems.* Much more so than most people in America realize, the way of life in the States is one which is characterized by recognizing, analyzing and finding solutions to problems. Just the opposite is true in many areas in Asia. There, people take events as they come without much concern for solving problems which may emerge from time to time. Also, people seem to take calamity, misfortune, poverty, squalor and the like without a hint of complaint. There seems to exist among them a sense of fatalism and impermanence which is seldom understood by the American or European who is working in foreign service.

Thus, the American way of launching an attack on problems and the dispatch with which he does so is not understood by those who could benefit by newer methods. Equally important is the fact that people from the Western World tend to grow impatient before understanding many of the factors which have contributed to the attitude of "let nature take its course."

6. *The vision, aspirations, desires and hopes of things and conditions to be realized is very low for many nations and persons in the undeveloped areas.* In the new world the general feeling prevails that man is master of his destiny. It is seen in repeated instances that men have improved conditions for themselves and their families and have brought a better and more prosperous set of conditions to those around them. In the West we believe that man's aspirations should be high and that he should apply industry to realizing them. We have much evidence to support the belief that our way of life is one which creates conditions favorable to realizing our desires. To most of the people who live on the continent of North America, it is impossible to realize the very limited degree to which the above ideas exist in many other parts of the world. On some other continents, where there is the heaviest concentration of population, people for centuries have had no examples and no evidence of the idea that man should have high aspirations and should work to realize them.

Consequently, when people in the East are working with representatives from the West on solutions to problems, it is often discovered that much time and energy is spent listening to reasons why problems cannot be solved. There seems to be no limit to scapegoating and to excuses for not making a direct onslaught on the problem at hand.

III

From the above analysis of situations as they exist, there are many implications which may be drawn. Most of the implications are important for educators because at the basis of most foreign aid is a program of education. It is a fact that foreign aid programs must be programs of education as well as aid; otherwise, they can amount to no more than give-away programs. Some of the important educational implications as seen by this writer who has spent a year on the other side of the world are these:

Persons who are selected to go to foreign countries to improve educational programs should have a clear understanding of the role of social values in education. Systematized education is one of the most important forces in the world, if used effectively, in creating

the type of society desired. If one of our objectives is to help others to achieve democracy, it is important that we understand better and become more effective in organizing and helping to create programs of education that will imbue those under its influence with those social values essential to democracy.

Therefore it is necessary for those who go abroad to understand thoroughly the values which are now generally accepted in the country where they are to be stationed. It is important that they recognize any inconsistencies which may exist between these values and universally accepted democratic values. Equally important, they must be able to devise some means of helping to reorganize educational programs, instructional procedures and instructional materials that are certain to help young people being educated to learn a way of life which is consistent with democracy.

Finally, of great significance is a keen awareness and an understanding of social, economic, religious, political and cultural problems of the host nation. We may safely say that all nations have problems in these areas which have not been solved. It is, however, a mistaken notion to feel that these problems have been caused by the same factors or that they can be solved by the same means in other lands as they can here. This mistaken notion probably causes the American abroad to be misunderstood and mistrusted more than any other single thing.

Most of the existing programs of foreign aid as they relate to education are being appreciated and are rendering valuable assistance as they were observed by this writer. It is felt however that some of the suggestions presented above may be helpful to others interested in education in foreign lands. At least, some of the suggestions, it is hoped, will help others to be able to avoid the criticism of trying to indoctrinate and attempting to impose upon others the American system of education and the American way of life.

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THE EDUCATOR'S PROFESSIONAL READING

Maurice P. Moffatt and Stephen G. Rich

Of any educator, whether teacher, supervisor, or administrator, the question might rightfully be asked, "What do you read to stay alert in your field?" The answer in some cases could be, "Those professional journals which contain materials specifically related to my particular job." Or again it could be, "Those publications which are organs of the professional societies of which I am a member." Still others would say that they read the new books appearing in their field as well as significant yearbooks. We can presume that every educator, in the light of pressing demands on his time and increasing responsibilities, does less professional reading than he would wish to do and, therefore, must limit his choices to his immediate needs. No set pattern can be expressed which will apply to all people working in education.

It is desirable that everyone in educational work devote a block of time to professional reading, especially those new and live materials which will be of assistance in keeping professionally alert so as to be informed about contemporary trends. A good supply of professional literature, made available to all teachers, is a "must" for every school system. Reading in other fields is profitable, since ideas and techniques can readily be adapted to a particular situation in one's major field.

A voluminous amount of excellent professional literature is available to teachers. Some of this is clearly only to be browsed; other parts of it may call for serious study. In this article we do not intend to delimit the two groups of readings, because we are sure that the same materials, the very same books or articles, may be downright basal needs for one educator, and almost mere pleasant relaxation for another. Using an almost antique wording, "It all depends on the apperceptive mass with which he comes to each piece of reading."

No educator need today flounder in trying to decide whether some particular proposed development is or is not applicable in his particular situation. So extensive has been the publishing of educational literature of all sorts in the past quarter century, that everything which has been tried has been recorded with sufficient fullness to be a ready aid for future use. In most cases, evaluations of the outcomes of any trial of a development, and sometimes even long-term evaluations of use of developments over the years, are to be

found. It is at bottom only a question of locating the needed book or article.

By indicating to the educator how to find the useful record or report in print, we may be doing a greater service than by letting space be used for further reports of new developments. We do not know how far an offering of the way to find what you want, will be received or appreciated; but we desire to make the attempt.

There exists a source for information about what articles, books, pamphlets, and other forms of published material have appeared in education, that is the indispensable help to anyone desiring to know what he can read for professional advantage. This is "The Education Index." Published ten times a year by H. W. Wilson Company of New York, N. Y., this index first of all is cumulative within each volume. Thus, the last volume includes everything that has been listed as the earlier units of that period appeared. This fact enables one to "work backward" for less recent references with the minimum of time and effort. Each volume covers a specific period.

The real problem is to learn how to locate desired material in the Index. Very often, an article in a journal can be allocated in one of several different categories for indexing. The indexer nearly always has valid reasons for his placement of such an article. But these very reasons may or may not exclude the likelihood that it has usefulness in other groups also. Let us recognize that this degree of subjective evaluation is not to be avoided in any type of indexing of any material. One of us who writes this has for some years indexed annual volumes of two non-educational journals, and has frequently had to make such decision on content which would offhand seem to allow of only one subject classification. Yet this material, on the processes of line-engraving as an art, allowed wide variety in placement! Perhaps this experience may serve as a hint to "look further than you first expected to" when searching in "The Education Index" for something useful on your own problem.

The plain, cold fact is that there is an embarrassment of wealth of materials in the field of education, in print. This we are convinced is probably larger in proportion to the needs of the field than in the journals and books of any other profession. For this reason, the problems of locating the useful reading matter is not one of assembling everything of a too thin list, but the precise opposite. It is the problem of deciding which of the wealth of articles and books seem most likely to serve the specific purpose.

We would be omitting one needed caution if we failed to comment at this point that the title of an article or book may be mis-

leading or uninformative. Most persons are able, after quite limited efforts at using any index or bibliography, to develop skill of a sufficient sort to enable them to recognize which titles are promising. If anyone reading this should doubt his own capacity to develop such a skill, we can assure him that a few short sessions of sampling titles and examining the actual content will establish this skill in almost every person's case. It is not a recondite or difficult skill, but one that is no harder for most persons to acquire than driving a motor car.

The modern educator is not going to overlook the progress reports which appear from schools or systems doing pioneer or experimental projects. In a remarkably large number of cases, such progress reports will enable those contemplating or carrying on a similar project to avoid pitfalls. In both elementary and secondary education, where pioneering work is being developed, all reports should be of significant value in such areas as supervision, the curriculum, and methodology. The classroom teacher surely can benefit from reading articles dealing with such topics as: individual differences, evaluation techniques, and audio-visual materials.

Today, new books are appearing almost daily in each and practically all fields of education. Some are revisions of older books. Others, again present a new thesis on some particular aspect. The wise educator does not necessarily limit his reading to the newest books—but he does make sure that these are among the sources to which he goes for aid. Many older ones contain a wealth of valuable guides and directly useful information for the educator.

The alert educator, for example, will not be content with recent books interpreting John Dewey's ideas. In order to cancel out what the interpreters themselves have added, and, thus, use Dewey's contributions with the slant of his own personality and approach, the educator cannot avoid reading carefully, if for the third or tenth time, "Democracy and Education" or "How We Think," the two most influential of Dewey's works. If it is a straight administrative problem, something that almost any school principal might meet, the chances are that Cubberley's work, "The Principal and His School," though published over thirty years ago, may present the background for one effective possible solution. In this last case, some of the more recent publications on school management will render valuable further help.

The teacher in the social studies field, and for that matter some in other fields, can well profit by making reading of an occasional relevant biography a portion of his professional reading. The problem of choice of such biographies is not always easy. Our conviction

on this point is that the educator's own personal likes will be sufficiently good guide to choice. This last point may need some elaboration.

If, for example, you who read these lines are a Harvard product, the biography of Charles William Eliot by Henry James (the younger) is naturally going to attract you. This particular life might not provide as much professional growth per page read as some other book. But the mere fact that you are attracted to it, and that you probably will enjoy most of its contents, should suffice to make it benefit you most unconsciously. In the same way, now that Philip Dorf has written "The Builder," a life of Ezra Cornell, you, if a Cornellian, will naturally appreciate this book.

By and large, the book reviews in Sunday newspapers are the surest sources from which to discover the biographies that you will read with most pleasure and gain. These reviews normally tell enough about any biography to give you the needed insight as to its merits and its likelihood of serving you.

However, the great bulk of professional reading is necessarily in the journals. Therefore, some evaluation of the professional periodicals may be a service which we can now render. We do not intend to list and rate a great number of professional magazines. We shall rather mention mainly those which in our judgments form essentials for professional reading.

For those in the fields of administration or supervision or both, there seem to be certain periodicals whose very nature makes regular reading of them a substantial necessity. Efficient work in the multifarious duties and decisions of administration is made far less burdensome by what one gleans in regular reading of such periodicals as:

Educational Administration and Supervision,
The School Executive,
The Nation's Schools
The American School Board Journal.

Practically every subject-matter field within education has its own particular journal. The tendency on the part of most of these is to emphasize a variety of aspects within the particular field. One valuable service that many of these papers render is to furnish reports of how some new item of content, or some new emphasis, was successfully taught. Another service, not so often rendered, is to raise fundamental questions, such as whether the particular content being taught really fits the purposes desired. The book review portions of such special field journals are often most valuable, since the

reviewers are almost always supremely competent; likewise, almost always most candid.

Space does not allow us to list the many magazines of this sort. However, we mention as three excellent examples: "School Science and Mathematics," "The Journal of Chemical Education," and "Social Education." No matter whether you teach remedial reading to second graders, or physics to college sophomores, there is almost surely a special field professional journal which will include something now and then within your field. The list of professional periodicals in the "Education Index" might well be your guide towards discovering which special field publications will serve you in particular.

Then again, professional organizations of all sorts have their own publications. These range from the Year Books, such as that of the National Society for the Study of Education, through a most extensive range. Nothing that is said about any one of them will necessarily apply to more than relatively few others. They are as heterogeneous as educators themselves.

A monthly professional journal like "The Phi Delta Kappan" is representative of one group. Published by, and primarily for the members of that fraternity, it contains materials that are of interest to every educator. Fortunately, it can be had by non-member subscribers also. Another most useful source, for college teachers in particular, is the "Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors." Of this, a book-like number appears quarterly.

Since audio-visual materials play such a significant role in all aspects of modern education, attention should naturally be given to publications in this area. The educator cannot safely assume that adequate treatment of visual or audio-visual procedures will be found, incidentally to other emphasis. The half-dozen or so journals in audio-visual education cater each to a slightly different clientele or point of view.

Not usually thought of as professional reading, as such, are the journals which keep us informed of the contemporary world scene. But they are an essential, perhaps almost a central sector, of an educator's reading. The actual specific professional items derived from them may be few. But the continuous understanding of the contemporary scene and contemporary personalities form a needed part of the understanding that effective educating implies. We are talking of such weeklies as "Time," "News-Week," and "The United States News and World Reports." Each educator naturally must decide which one or ones fit his own needs and his likings as a reader.

Professional organizations have another group of journals. These

are the national and state associations' official organs. Such a one as the N. E. A. Journal is in many respects a high caliber professional journal, worthy of comparison with others of more pretentiousness. The space given over in some such journals to the "newsletter" aspects and to personal items should not be considered as wasted. We are not a profession of solitary practitioners, but essentially mutually enmeshed. The reports like the legislative items in the New Jersey Educational Review have a definite usefulness to the teachers in that state. In fact, we think it almost necessary to place here a caution that professional reading should not be limited too closely to technology or subject matter. Just as the current events journals find a place therein, so do the personality newsletters of professional societies.

The rapid survey of the range of professional readings now available, which we have here given, is aimed to demonstrate to each reader of this magazine that he can find, without needing too much effort, pertinent materials that will serve him in his particular situation. We have tried to emphasize that both books and serials need be used. We have tried to guide the reader to the sites where the material is listed and classified. We have further tried to make clear the bearing of apparently non-educational reading of certain sorts, within the sphere of our art.

Thus, it is now for each person to decide for himself what he should read. We decline to set ourselves up as in any sense arbiters in this respect.

Reading, and professional reading in particular, is in our view a phase and a method of social growth. We extend the term, "social growth," to include in-service professional growth, because we know that there is no individual growth of any lasting sort that is not social in roots and process. These statements we take as literally axiomatic, though we are convinced that they could be established empirically if it were necessary. However based, the facts as we know them, certainly justify considering reading as essentially a social process.

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HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

N. S. Timasheff

American higher education may be conceived as an enormous experimental field where diverse social agencies—state and city government, religious denominations, secular foundations and the administration of independent colleges and universities compete for finding the best (if not absolutely perfect) model for the institutions of higher learning. On a more superficial level, this competition shows up in a never ending debate about the goals to be achieved by these institutions and the means of achieving them once they have been selected.

This debate is legitimate, and it is one of the advantages of American culture that it allows a plurality of patterns while many European countries accept one pattern only which, of course, may be eventually remodelled, but without the beneficial direction of experiment and comparison of results.

A fruitful debate requires, however, a common frame of reference which, on the level of subjective choices of ends and means, is conspicuous by its absence. The present paper is an attempt to offer an objective approach to the problem, from the point of view of modern sociology.

Twenty years ago, most sociologists would have rejected the question—higher education for what—as unscientific. Since then a new school has arisen in sociology, the functional school which studies social phenomena using as framework final cause, conceived as *finis operis*, not *finis operantis*, and reviving, on the empiric level, one of the phases of Aristotelian philosophy.¹

Functional sociology concentrates on the question: what social systems (or even individuals) are doing for more inclusive social systems? More exactly: what are they contributing to the survival and development, that is, expansion, improvement and strengthening, of the latter? The survival and development of the larger system is taken for granted; in other words, the value of their survival and development is assumed to be beyond question. The main purpose of functional sociology is to establish the so-called functional prerequisites of survival and development in other words, the minimum conditions under which they are possible. The whole approach has been taken over from biology where the survival of the organism and

¹On functional sociology, see N. S. Timasheff, *Sociological Theory, Its Nature and Growth* (1955), pp. 219-29, and R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (1949), pp. 21-81.

of the species is taken for granted and the contributions of each organ is painstakingly established.

For sociology, the functional approach is of high theoretical importance because it helps us understand how of innumerable actions of individuals often striving for conflicting ends, objective social processes emerge the meaning of which transcends individual goal orientations.

In our case, the smaller or partial system, the contribution of which for the whole is to be studied, are institutions of higher learning. The larger system the survival and development of which is to be guaranteed is an all-inclusive society, i.e., a large aggregation of men of such a composition and structure that its survival is thinkable even with no or only negligible communication with other societies. In our day, the all-inclusive society commonly coincides with the nation-state. But the society in question is not simply a circumscribed plurality of men. Their biological survival is of course of paramount importance. But these men are also collective bearers of a culture. Culture is again a concept the sociological importance of which has been recognized rather recently (under the impact of cultural anthropology). Culture is the sum total of ways of acting, feeling and thinking common to the members of a society and transmitted from one member to another (especially from one generation to another) by the learning process in its various modalities (not by biological inheritance). The community of culture is what makes men into Americans, Frenchmen, Germans and so on and what holds them together. The American way of life is an unquestioned value for the Americans, the French for the Frenchmen and so on. For the maintenance of their way of life men fight and die, for its expansion, improvement and strengthening they work.

The functional approach is not satisfied by saying: a partial system X contributes to the survival and development of the larger system Y; it must answer the question—how does it contribute?² In our particular case, it is obvious that the partial system (institutions of higher learning) contribute to the survival and development of culture on its highest levels. It is also obvious that the institutions of higher learning contribute more specifically to the transmissive aspect of culture; in the activities of these institutions, the pattern of teaching-learning is paramount (Though, as we shall see, it is supplemented by another.)

²This point is well demonstrated and defended against misinterpretations by H. C. Bredemeir, "The Methodology of Functionalism," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 20 (1955), pp. 173-80.

The existence and smooth running of higher learning is almost indispensable for the very survival of a culture having attained a high level. This necessity is closely connected with the very structure of culture in advanced societies. In these societies, culture, though forming a more or less integrated system of patterns of thought, emotion and action, is divided into a large number of fields or areas such as the economic, political, legal, moral, religious, scientific, esthetic, educational, medical, recreational and so on. Each of these fields of culture is embodied, by means of internalization, in a rather limited group of individuals who play, in the field, the active role. More often than not, they are experts, having received a long and specific training, and earning their living by activating their expert knowledge or skill. Relative to each of these active centers, the rest of the society appears as a periphery the members of which eventually participate in the operations of the particular field of culture, requesting and receiving the services of the expts. They are, e.g., lawyers and their clients recruited from the total society (including the active agents of the other fields of culture); there are the doctors and their patients, again temporarily recruited from the rest of society, and so on.

We can now answer more exactly *how* does higher education contribute to the survival of society on the level of its higher culture achievements. Higher education does it by continuously supplying new and adequately trained human material to the active centers of the particular fields of culture. It trains the experts on whose existence and performance the maintenance of the individual fields depend. That continuous supply is necessary to replace those who go (because of death or retirement). And if this training supplies more individuals than necessary for the replacement of those who go, the particular culture fields expand, and thereby culture in its totality.

But higher education contributes not only to the survival and quantitative expansion of the culture of a society (and thereby of the society viewed as a meaningful human aggregation), but also to its inner development. Since the very emergence of higher education as of a cluster of differentiated social systems (which happened in the late Middle Ages in Italy), higher education merged with creative activity in the corresponding fields of culture. In contradistinction to teachers of elementary and secondary schools, professors of institutions of higher learning are expected to be also scholars, that is, creative personalities in the respective fields.³ Professors of

³ Publication of books and so on is a common, but necessary symptom of creative ability which may be expressed in original approaches to teaching.

law schools promote jurisprudence, professors of medicine discover new treatments, professors of music or painting create new works of art in their fields. There is a very good reason for this combination. Development is possible only if, among the active agents, there are creative minds; and the eliciting of creative ability is most conveniently performed if and when younger men contact frequently and intimately older persons of some creative ability. If this is the case, an institution of higher learning transmits not only knowledge already available, but also the creative tradition, in other words, techniques conducive to the development of specified culture fields, and, in addition to this, a high positive evaluation of advance.

We have come close to the formulation of the proposition that higher education is a functional prerequisite of the survival and development of an advanced society including its culture. To finish the demonstration, one should perhaps prove that there are no other ways of securing both the survival and development of an advanced culture. This can however not be done, because, for both operations of higher education, the transmissive and the creative, there are so-called functional alternatives or instrumentalities which could be used in place of higher education and still, presumably, secure the achievement of the objectives aforesaid. Sheer transmission of existing knowledge and skill can be also effected by esoteric training, that is, through training, by practitioners, of apprentices on the job.⁴ The development of culture (addition of new patterns and improvement of the existing ones) can be also effected by research institutions deprived of teaching responsibility. This is why, in a previous part of this paper, the word "almost" was inserted.

Esoteric training has, of course, preceded formal education in institutions of higher learning. In England, until recently, the Four Inns (of barristers) have performed the role of the American or continental European law schools and the practice of "reading the law" or studying the law in action, in offices of well established lawyers, was also in America the major way of access to the central core of the legal area of culture until rather recently. Gradually, this practice has receded and, by now, is no longer part of our culture. Comparison of efforts necessary to achieve the objective in one or the other way and of the results is decisive. More often than not, a man having received only esoteric training remains a technician, able to perpetuate the patterns received, but at loss before new problems; often he is not so much the promoter of culture advance as an

⁴There exists, of course, the additional instrumentality of self-teaching. Its inadequacy is so conspicuous that it may be left undiscussed.

obstacle to it. Why is it so? Because practitioners have commonly no time and not too much incentive to get familiar with the innumerable developments in the field; a scholar teaching in an institution of higher learning is culturally stimulated to do so. Esoteric training can satisfy the functional prerequisites of sheer survival of culture; but formal education in institutions of higher learning satisfies it better and also contributes to culture development.

The functional alternative to the creative component of higher education can be achieved, and well achieved, by special research institutions. The first half of the twentieth century has witnessed a tremendous development of such institutions, supported by government or business, more seldom by private foundations based on voluntary donations of the very rich. There can be no objection against the development of this instrumentality. But it involves a danger which must be seriously taken in consideration. The special research institutions are often better endowed than institutions of higher learning, and so they are able to attract the more gifted and active members of the teaching staffs. If this goes too far, the functional value of the institutions of higher learning will be seriously impaired. They could still transmit existing knowledge, but the spirit of advance, of daring inroads into the unknown or untried, would go. So in one generation or two, the research institutions which by definition do not prepare the human material necessary they need, would be deprived of the influx of men endowed with the mentality of true scholars; the system would become self-defeating, and culture advance would be impaired. This points to the necessity of measures which would allow the institutions of higher learning to retain, on their faculties, a sufficient number of men of creative ability.

Summing up: one of the functional alternatives studied is obviously inferior as compared with formal higher education, and the other, if given exclusivity in its particular type of operation, would impair the continuity of the flow of men necessary not only to allow culture to survive, but also to develop. In consequence, one may assert that the existence of social systems combining transmission of existing knowledge and skills (on their top levels) with the stimulation of efforts aiming at culture development, is a functional prerequisite of survival and development of an advanced society with its culture. This is the sociological answer to the question—what for is higher education. Higher education achieves, in an unique way, an objective the value of which, in advanced society, is beyond doubt, and cannot be adequately replaced by any other known instrumentality.

Since advanced culture is highly differentiated, one may draw the

conclusion that, to perform its function, higher education must also be highly differentiated. This is true, but only to a certain extent. Why? Because, to survive and develop, culture must be not only differentiated, but also integrated, i.e., form a system; on that the vigor of a culture largely depends.⁵ But this integration can be achieved only if the active agents of the individual fields of culture are in the state of mental interpenetration. In other words, to carry out their functional roles, these agents must be not only highly trained experts in their particular fields, but be also bearers of the culture as a whole, so that they could, with good reason, profess *homo sum and nihil humani mihi alienum esse puto*. To achieve that, higher education must tactfully combine specialized expertness with command of the central core of the culture. In other words, special training must be built upon the solid foundation of general culture—or else the functional requisites of the survival and development of an advanced culture are not met.

These considerations dispose, to a large extent, of the controversy between those who see in higher education a means of personality development, or a means for increasing one's earning ability. Subjectively, it can be either the one, or the other, or both, or none. Functionally, graduation from an institution of higher learning increases by one unit the personnel able to manage the central core of a culture field or, if education is strictly "liberal" (not preparatory for any professional activity), the number of people able to personify the integrative aspect of culture. In our democratic and rather prosaic day, higher education almost necessarily must provide both general introduction into culture and introduction into one of the particular culture fields.

There remains to answer an auxiliary question: to achieve its function, every social system must be endowed with motive power stimulating its components, the individuals, to perform what is functionally necessary.⁶ This motive power is always supplied by gratification of behavior complying with the functional prerequisites. What is the gratification impiled in the social systems devoted to higher education?

In each concrete system of the type under study we easily distinguish two parts, even levels: the central and relatively permanent staff of educators and the changing periphery consisting of the stu-

⁵ On culture integration, see P. A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, Personality* (1947), pp. 313-41.

⁶ On motive power in its relationship to the functional prerequisites see T. Parsons, *The Social System* (1951), pp. 29-33.

dent body. For the teaching staff, performance of activities complying with the functional prerequisites of the field of culture to which their teaching is oriented is commonly gratifying *in se*: to the staffs of the institutions of higher learning, commonly those who are attracted who feel teaching and research to be their vocation. Through specific institutional rules, these individuals are granted the opportunity to continue their teaching activity so long as the quality of their performance is unimpaired; this intrinsic reward and the eventual penalty of failure provide the functionally required motive power. But, in addition to this direct gratification, indirect or instrumental gratification is also present. Of course, teaching never conveys power; but teaching in institutions of higher learning commonly conveys some prestige (the level of which differs in various societies and also depends on the ranking of the particular institutions). Finally, a moderate access to wealth (in the meaning of participation in the national dividend) is granted to the teaching staff, as to other types of experts occupying central positions in specified culture fields.

For the student body, direct gratification is by no means rare. An urge of knowledge, always more knowledge, is commonly found in many members of the student body; this urge and the corresponding gratification is, by the way, particularly intensive in societies where higher education is not too widely expanded. More common and important is, however, the instrumental gratification. Every advanced society is stratified society consisting of individuals with differential social status. The criteria of this status vary in time and space, but it is a sociological constant that the level of achieved education is one of the criteria. In other words, the higher the level, the higher the probability of reaching a higher social status granting access to wealth, prestige and eventually power, sometimes to the ability of being helpful to the neighbors which, for many individuals, is a potent motive. This correlation of higher status with education is another functional prerequisite of the survival of every advanced society with its culture and is well-known to the student body. The anticipation of these manifold gratifications elicits the functionally required behavior in their midst.

In conclusion, one may say: taking for granted the value of the survival and development of an advanced culture, higher education plays the part of one of its functional prerequisites. This answers the question—what for is higher education—on the objective level. On the subjective level, the educators and students select one or another item on the list of gratifications or combine two or more among them. And so they do and will do because the correlation of success

in higher studies with the probability of achieving a higher social status is not accidental, but is functionally warranted.

Motive power is however necessary not only within the system of higher education, but also outside it since it is not self-supporting. Motive power must be also present among political, religious and social leaders and the public-at-large. Commonly, this outside motive power is present, and the institutions of higher learning make substantial contributions to that effect, inculcating into their graduates (the culture leaders of tomorrow) the tradition of high respect for learning. Thus emerging and sustained, the outside motive power makes the system of higher education work and do what it is for.

What for is, however, the functional interpretation of higher education, such as the one offered above? The practical purpose is to create a universe of discourse between the various philosophies of education and to decrease the heat of the debate: whatever goals or means are subjectively chosen, higher education performs, more or less well, an essential social function. Consequently, the goals and means suggested by individuals must be checked as to their conformity with the functional prerequisites of the survival and development of that culture in the midst of which the debate on goals and ends is going on.

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**CITIZEN CONCEPTION OF THE SCHOOL'S IDEAL ROLE AMONG
YOUTH SERVICE AGENCIES:
AN ASPECT OF SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS RESEARCH***

Raymond Payne

One of the most obvious trends in public school administration and planning is the increasing concern for intra-community cooperation and co-ordination of agency activities in relation to the problems of the area. This trend is accompanied by the increasing effort to gain citizen participation in school activities and planning, and the attempt to develop among people of the community a feeling of ownership for and involvement in the school.

One manifestation of these changes has been an increase in the

* Based on selective aspects of research done in Pauls Valley, Oklahoma, 1951-52, by the College of Education, University of Oklahoma, Norman, in cooperation with the Citizens' Committee of Pauls Valley.

number and variety of functions performed by the school; no longer is the public school solely committed to teaching the three R's, but is, instead, dedicated to the task of "developing the whole person."

If this new role is to be performed successfully, the school must be concerned with the reactions of the members of the community. Are parents willing to grant to the school responsibility for certain youth services which were formerly performed by the family, by the church, or by no agency in the community? Do they feel that the school is adequately meeting its responsibilities for certain functions? Do they feel that the school should assume greater responsibility than it already has done? These and other similar questions comprise the basic approach to the study of school-community relations.

Almost inadvertently this area of research was approached in a study in Pauls Valley, Oklahoma, late in 1951. In that study representatives of the households in the school district were asked to indicate who (what agencies) should render each of 31 selected services for school-age children of the community. (See list of functions below). Although the primary purpose was to derive from the responses the total perceived institutional configuration of youth service agencies in the community, the results contained elements particularly pertinent to the school, and of special interest to school people.

Because the study was concerned with the manner in which agency roles are perceived by community members, and because such perceptions must be in terms of (or defined in relation to) specified functions, the following plan was established.

There were selected 31 functions all of which are usually performed to a greater or lesser degree by some agency or combination of agencies for school-age children in the American community. These items served as the specific functions in relation to which respondents were asked to indicate the appropriate performing agency or agencies.

1. Help children choose future occupations
2. Teach the meaning of fair play
3. Furnish space and equipment for play after school
4. Teach young people to dance
5. Give physical examinations during the year
6. Teach children about sex
7. Supervise the play and recreation of young people
8. Teach young people how to get along together
9. Teach children about God
10. Teach attitudes towards honesty in everyday living
11. Teach appropriate attitudes toward other races
12. Teach children how to understand others
13. Teach children what will be expected of them as adult members of Society
14. Teach hobbies to children
15. Supervise the instruction children are getting in school

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12. Teach children how to understand others
13. Teach children what will be expected of them as adult members of Society
14. Teach hobbies to children
15. Supervise the instruction children are getting in school

16. Check on the quality of medical treatment children are getting in the community
17. Decide what kinds of movies are to be shown in the community
18. Furnish places for young people to go on dates
19. Teach good attitudes toward voting
20. Teach cleanliness and neatness in personal grooming
21. Teach girls sewing, cooking, and homemaking
22. Teach occupational skills
23. Teach young people what to expect as adult members of society
24. Teach respect for the flag
25. Teach children how to budget their time
26. Teach young people how to speak in public
27. Furnish opportunities for boys and girls to meet each other
28. Teach young people how to write good letters
29. Teach young people how to be good organization members
30. Teach young people how to become good fathers and mothers
31. Teach young people how to drive automobiles

It is to be noted that by and large, the list included only functions being performed to some degree by public schools either intentionally or unintentionally in *some* American communities. Indeed, the writer was hard put to isolate some legitimate and/or socially sanctioned function usually performed for this age group responsibility for which has not been to some extent granted to or assumed by the American public school system in either implicit or explicit form. On the other hand, no function was listed for which the school had been granted full and/or sole responsibility in any community known to the writer.

THE COMMUNITY

Pauls Valley is a county seat town in south-central Oklahoma, with approximately 7,000 people living in the school district. It is known locally as an "oil town" because of recent expansion of oil fields in the area, but it also serves as trade center for all of Garvin county, with its population of approximately 30,000 and for parts of other counties. It is the largest town in an area extending about 35-40 miles in each direction.

FIELD PROCEDURE

A completed schedule was to be obtained from each "household" in the community. No specifications as to which member of the household should complete the schedule, but it has been assumed that most were executed by family heads or housewives. Schedules were delivered to the households by members of the local Parent-Teacher Association. Each informant was given brief and summary oral instructions, chief of which was to complete the schedule in order that it might be picked up the following evening. Hence, the infor-

the
mants recorded their responses while in their homes, and in the absence of interviewers.

The schedule included directions for the informant, including (1) a brief and general orientation to the subject; (2) some inferences of the connection of the study to the informant; (3) mention of the sponsoring agency; (4) specific steps to be taken in completing the form; and (5) some suggestions as to the possible range of agency types which might perform certain of the listed functions. This one-sheet schedule was attached to a larger (four-page) questionnaire concerned with citizen opinions of the community's school system.

The questionnaire analyzed represented approximately a 75 percent return: 898 usable schedules from the estimated 1200 households in the community. Of the total, 843 were executed by whites, 55 by Negroes; 153 by men, 690 by women. No measures of the representativeness of the returns were inherent in the study.

FINDINGS

Analysis was in terms of responses to the total list of functions, with internal variations by selected factors. All findings of the study are not here presented; only those of particular significance to the school-community situation.

There was considerable evidence that the community was granting to the school system a wide range of responsibilities, as may be inferred from the following:

1. *No single function in the list was considered unnecessary or inappropriate by all informants*; that is, there was no listed function that all informants said should not be performed for young people in the community.
2. *There was no single function that was not thought by at least one informant to be the responsibility of the school.*

3. *The "school" was perceived as the predominant youth service agency in the community.* A total of forty agencies were listed a total of 38,703 times by the 898 informants, an average of about 1.4 agencies per informant per listed youth service. (Table 1) Of the total agency mentions 14,267 (36.9 percent) were school responses. Following the school with 31.0 percent was the "family," which was followed in turn by the "church" with 13.3 percent, and "scouts" (boy and girl) with 5.6 percent. Thus, taken together these four community agencies accounted for almost 87 percent of all agency listings.

Although there was a perceived overlapping of responsibility among community agencies for rendering youth services, the important thing to be noted is that for even such a varied list of youth

TABLE 1

Service Agencies Designated by 898 Informants as Appropriate Ones to Perform 31 Selected Functions for Young People, With Number of Mentions and Percent of All Mentions; Pauls Valley, Oklahoma, Fall, 1951.

<i>Agencies</i>	<i>Number of Mentions</i>	<i>Percent of all Mentions</i>
All	38,703	100.00
SCHOOL	14,267	36.86
FAMILY	12,008	31.03
CHURCH	5,115	13.32
SCOUTS, BOY AND GIRLS	2,516	5.57
DOCTOR	942	2.43
COMMUNITY	941	2.43
CLUBS	896	2.32
Clubs, unspecified	505	
Teen Town	158	
4-H Club	106	
P-T-A	106	
Rotary, Kiwanis, Elks	11	
Lions Club	5	
Bus. & Prof. Women's Clubs	1	
Teachers' Organization	1	
Parents' Club	1	
Daughters of the Revolution	1	
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE	846	2.19
NEIGHBORHOOD	578	1.49
SCHOOL NURSE	515	1.33
ALL OTHER	399	1.03
Professional Instructors	110	
Themselves	52	
Police	34	
Chamber of Commerce	33	
Theater Owners	29	
YMCA-YWCA	22	
County	19	
Restaurants	17	
Taverns	16	
State	11	
Army	10	
Movies	10	
Citizen's Committee	8	
"Special Workers"	8	
Federal Government	7	
Radio	5	
Lawyers	2	
Red Cross	2	
Newspapers	2	
Congressman	1	
Hospital	1	

services, and despite the fact that respondents were urged to consider all possible performing agencies, the school was mentioned most often.

For two reasons it might be expected that there was an inordinately large proportion of school responses. (1) While the schedule, alone, was no more nearly biased toward the school than toward the family, the church, or any other community agency, it was attached to a larger study known by respondents to be (a) sponsored by the local Citizens' Committee (an adjunct of the School Board), (b) supervised by the Education College of the University of Oklahoma, and (c) administered by members of the Parent-Teacher Association; and (2) because most of the listed functions were *teaching* services, making it somewhat more likely that respondents would think of the school, the community agency culturally most closely identified with "teaching."

The first comment, above, is made as a methodological point, to be considered in any survey: the nature of the sponsorship of the survey will influence the results to a greater or lesser degree, particularly with opinion or perceptual data. The second comment may be simply the overall explanation for the predominance of school responses.

One would be justified, in light of these data, to make two tentative generalizations, insofar as the listed functions were concerned:

1. *The school and the family together, were perceived as having overwhelming proportion of responsibility for rendering services to young people in the community, and*

2. *The school was granted primary responsibility, the family being perceived as the supporter of the school, not vice versa.*

If this be the case, then it is evidence of a radical shift from situations formerly prevailing in our society, in which the school was (and was considered) an adjunct to the family, performing a few selected supplementary functions for the family, but occupying a wholly subsidiary position in the community.

Some variations among school responses were noted in relation to sex, race, and age of informants.

1. *Women were significantly more likely to list the school as a performing agency than were men.* The 738 women mentioned the school a total of 11,908 times; the 160 men mentioned it 2,359 times. Using the proportion of men and women in the total sample as the basis of comparison, the school responses given by women are, by chi square test, significantly more numerous.¹

¹ Chi square valued obtained 15.86; value required at one percent level of significance: 9.21. Frank A. Pearson and Kenneth R. Bennett, *Statistical Methods*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., N. Y., 1942, pp. 387.

Men were more likely to designate as appropriate serving agencies the "community" and "other", in short, agencies outside the home and other than the school.

2. *White informants were significantly more likely to name the school than were Negroes.* Negroes seemed to rely more heavily upon the family and upon the more informal grouping for youth services than did white persons. This may be the result of the generally less adequate facilities provided for Negroes.²

3. *Young people (age 15 through 34) were more prone to name the school than were older people (age 54 and older).* This is not only evidence of the greater acceptance of each generation of the diminishing role of the family and the church in youth services, but also of the increasing dependence upon the school, specifically, in the care and training of young people.³

CONCLUSIONS

While it may be concluded that the informants perceived an overlapping of responsibility among the agencies of the community for rendering youth services, the fact that the school was mentioned more than any other agency, would lead to the conclusion that the school is granting the prime responsibility in this area of community functioning.

This extensive granting of responsibility to the school indicates the need for certain actions on the part of local school administrators: to discover what members of the community expect of the school and either (1) proceed to adjust the school program to meet adequately those expectations; or (2) to take steps to let it be known throughout the community that certain services are not within the scope of feasible school program, that the school is not to be expected to carry out certain functions, and is, therefore, not to be criticized for not carrying them out. It seems to the writer that the making of this choice is essential to good school-community relations, and that the choice must in turn, be based on a systematic sampling of expectations of community members.

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² Chi square value obtained: 11.46; chi square value required at one percent level of significance: 9.21.

³ Chi square value obtained: 221.62; chi square value required at one percent level of significance: 9.21.

HELPING CHILDREN WHO DO NOT WANT TO LEARN

Recia and Frank Wolf

There is a great cultural conflict between teachers and the masses of children whom they wish to stimulate to learn. Despite their honest efforts to help the children, teachers fail because they misinterpret the youngsters' behavior, underrate their intelligence, and misunderstand their interests and goals.

"That behavior which middle class teachers, clinicians, and psychiatrists only regard as 'delinquent' or 'hostile' or 'unmotivated' of slum children is usually a perfectly realistic, adaptive, and, in slum life, socially acceptable response to reality," said Professor Allison Davis of the University of Chicago.

"... human beings . . . are what their culture teaches them to be. Lower class people cannot learn middle class foresight and moderation unless they can participate socially with middle class people. The public school is our only chance to teach lower class people the middle class motivational pattern. But the schools do not understand how to reward lower class pupils," he continued.

"The conception that aggression and hostility are neurotic or maladaptive symptoms of a chronically frustrated adolescent is an ethnocentric view of middle class psychiatrists. In lower class families, fighting is as much a normal type of behavior as it is in frontier communities."

It is quite clear that the assumption upon which this is based is that middle class values are the ones which need to be developed throughout the class structure. The problem of relationships of middle class teachers and lower class pupils has been increasing throughout our country, and particularly in urban areas. It is of utmost importance to our educational system that this problem be spelled out for alleviation; in order to live our belief that each individual has value and is unique, and that the maximum opportunities be provided for his fullest growth and development.

In a New York City vocational high school which has had considerable newspaper and magazine coverage in recent years, this problem is almost overwhelming. This school will be used as an example and base for this discussion.

There are several sub-problems connected with the major problem of lower socio-economic groups' orientation to a middle class educational system. One, How may these groups be motivated? Two, How may these individuals learn values of behavior (cooperating versus

fighting)? Three, How may we achieve an integrated citizenry? Four, How does one overcome the acute discrimination problem?

The principal of the school in question showed a concern for finding answers to the problems of teaching lower socio-economic group children. Allison Davis, in Social Class Influence Upon Learning, analyzed the problem of motivation in lower socio-economic groups. Therefore, it was decided by two of the faculty to distribute to the teachers an abstract of Davis' ideas, followed by a questionnaire, from which it was hoped positive suggestions would come which might help solve the problem. It was assumed that the education and experience of the teachers working with these children would provide useful data and source material.

It was felt that the main sub-problem centered around motivating lower class children in whose culture, according to Davis, education is not necessarily a desirable goal.

The background of this school is an important facet for evaluation. The staff were not amenable to new methods of teaching. Some were physically debilitated. Staff had many who had been failures in other fields before entering the field of education; they feared new teachers and there were numerous cliques within the faculty. Substitutes at this school individually competed because of the one-half year hiring policy in practice; many felt gossip was necessary for survival because of the hierarchy set-up fostered by the cliques; insecurity was rampant because of the low status of this school which had an overall low status among most of the city schools; many new teachers were obliged to teach as the oldsters preferred or faced ostracism; and many teachers were intolerant of the large minority groups found among the student body.

Student cooperation was rarely sought. Other than a weak, uninspired, regulation G. O., the students were rarely consulted on plans for assembly, class, or any facet affecting student life. Rules were inconsequential and teachers' status lowered in the eyes of the students because of administrative inconsistencies in rule enforcement. This also added to the insecurity of students who could never be sure when they were breaking an unenforced school rule.

Each teacher had a different approach and acceptance standard for students, including the use of physical force and detention for punishment. The guidance department believed in expelling troublemakers, transferring the less troublesome problem students from one room to another, and sending for parents. At the interview, the guidance officer would frequently threaten to expel the student, be rude to the parents; and also patronize the teacher to the child.

Outside consultants were unacceptable to guidance and the administration because they felt psychology could do no good, that a psychologist would be objected to by parents; even help from the Youth Board was refused.

The administration, while recognizing that a problem existed, tended to blame it on the school plant; gave lip service to improvements, but no leadership. Attitudes toward students were based on the school's ability to accept as many as possible in order to get a new plant because of overcrowding, and to fail students as a class if some members caused too much trouble.

Communications between administration and staff were based on red tape and a strict hierarchy set-up which tended to discourage the development of a sound relationship. This hierarchy fostered subtle investigation, sometimes through students, of the teachers, as well as gossip. Though gambling was to be punished when found among students, teachers openly belonged to sports pools in school.

With this background in administration, staff, students, and school plan, the problem of how to increase learning, the "raison d'etre" for the school had a rich medium in which to grow more complex and less solvable.

Thus, in this situation, an abstract of Davis' article was distributed along with a questionnaire to discover teachers' attitudes, hopes, and suggestions for improving and developing education and citizenship in the school.

The administration gave consent for the distribution. When distribution followed, this consent was immediately retracted! Results of the questionnaire showed that one half of the school staff of seventy did not return it. One third of those who returned the questionnaire answered it; that is, fifteen questionnaires were returned of which ten answered and five merely checked that they had not read the abstract, though added copies of the abstract were made available after distribution of the questionnaire.

The questions asked focused upon the teacher's training, his experience with various socio-economic groups of students, his interpretations of their goals and patterns of behavior, his suggestions for improving the learning situation.

The analysis of the ten completed questionnaires is summarized as follows.

1.

Reacted to the article by "goobledegook." This teacher is of a minority group and from a low socio-economic environment. He believes that he understands the habits of the group. Agrees that

fighting is acceptable and approved, but disagrees that abilities of these pupils are wasted. No constructive suggestions or curriculum changes offered. Believes mental potential is equal in all groups. Lower class pupil is greater discipline problem. No effort to provide student with opportunity to learn middle class pupils' values or motivational pattern.

2.

No reaction to article. Of a minority group and from a lower economic background, he did not learn from the article. Feels he understands habits of group. Agrees that fighting is acceptable and approved. Does not believe abilities are being wasted or misdirected. Believes curriculum changes are necessary, but offers no suggestions. Feels mental potential is equal and advocates culturally-fair re-test. Lower class pupil is not greater discipline problem. No effort made to provide student with middle class values and motivational pattern.

3.

Neither from a low socio-economic group, nor has he lived in one, but "understands" habits. He did not learn from the article. Reaction was "negative, a waste of time." Disagrees on fighting being approved and on waste of ability because "students don't have ability." Contradicts himself and says ability can be rendered useful, but offers no suggestions except a return to formalism. Lower class pupil is not greater discipline problem. Makes effort to show middle class values and motivational pattern by being an example.

4.

Not of a lower economic group or lived in such environment, feels he understands group's habits. He learned from article and agrees about fighting. Favorable reaction to article. Does not believe abilities wasted, but contradicts himself by saying they can be rendered useful by curriculum changes. Believes mental potential equal and advocates culturally-fair re-test. Lower class pupil greater discipline problem and this interferes with education. Makes conscious effort to offer middle class values and pattern, but does not state how.

5.

Not from low economic group, but lived for eleven years in lower socio-economic environment. Does not understand group's habits, and learned from article. Agrees on fighting as approved. Reaction to article: desires solution to problem. Agrees that abilities are largely wasted and can be rendered useful by teaching and curriculum changes, although no specific suggestions offered. Does not know if mental potential is equal, but advocates re-test. Lower class is greater

discipline problem and this interferes with education. Makes effort to show middle class pattern by being an example.

6.

Originally from, and has lived in, a lower economic environment. Understands group's habits and did not learn from article. Disagrees with fighting question when applied to Jewish minority. Disagrees with stratification of people into rigid groups. Agrees with wasted ability and adds "not only to lower economic groups," but does not know whether abilities can be rendered useful; yet, believes curriculum changes will help solve problem posed by Davis. Advocates practice of professional ideals. Does not believe in equal mental potential of groups because no check is made on transfer within groups. Advocates re-test with culturally fair questions. Lower class not greater discipline problem. Makes effort to show middle class values and motivational pattern by pointing out acceptable modes of behavior.

7.

From low socio-economic environment and now lives in one. Understands group's habits and learned from article. Agrees that fighting is acceptable, but not approved. "It is accepted as a necessary evil, but seldom approved." Objects to article because "it is theory, and blames evil practices on poverty." Does not agree with abilities wasted because "no education is ever wasted." Agrees that abilities of group can be rendered useful by giving them equal opportunity in and out of school. Advises treating lower class same as others. Does not advocate any curriculum changes not made for other groups. Agrees to equal mental potential of groups and re-test. Believes they are greater discipline problem and this interferes with education. Objected to question of learning middle class values. Says lower class learns them daily in movies and radio. (then *why* don't they adopt values?).

8.

Not from a low economic group, although presently living in this environment and considering herself of that class now. Understands group's habits. Learned from article and agrees on fighting question. Reaction to article is one of valid analysis, but no solution to problem. Agrees abilities are wasted because curriculum does not fulfill needs of these children. Agrees they can be rendered useful by "correct channelization of problems, fewer students in classes, and more personalized teaching." Advocates curriculum changes to help solve problem. Offered: "less academic subjects, more guidance, school psychologist for every school." Agrees that mental potential is equal and that re-test should be given. This group is a greater discipline

problem and this interferes with education. Believes they need to learn middle class values, but makes no effort to teach them.

9.

From a lower socio-economic group and understands habits. Did not learn from this article. Disagrees with fighting question in reference to Jewish minority. Nothing concrete offered by Davis. Agrees that abilities are largely wasted, but doesn't answer question: "If this is so, is it because you think they have no abilities?" Believes curriculum changes will help. Suggests "courses of interest to these kids on a much more personal level." Believes in equal mental potential and re-test. Feels they are greater discipline problem and this interferes with education. Effort to teach middle class pattern is done "by everything we do." "The middle class pattern is generally everything that is accepted."

10.

Has lived in and is of a lower socio-economic group. Does not completely understand habits of group. Learned from article. Disagrees with fighting question in reference to Jewish minority, and other "strict groups." Interested in article and would like to know more and consider contents more carefully—perhaps it has generalized too much." Agrees that abilities are wasted and can be rendered useful by good vocational education and guidance. Advocates mental hygiene in guidance program. Agrees that curriculum changes would help, such as use of material and content closer to personal experience, and easier in language. Much visual education, field trips, and training in listening were also suggested. Agrees with equal mental potential of groups and need for culturally-fair re-test. Greater discipline problem with this group which interferes with education. Effort by stories, illustrations, and reading materials to show middle class pattern and values.

The development of the questionnaire, its distribution, return and evaluations leads us to say that the low level of the teaching staff and the practices of the administration as mentioned in the introduction rendered the alleviation of this problem at this time and by this method untenable. The fact that so few (ten out of seventy) questionnaires were completed makes this study, in this particular school at the time, of the lower socio-economic group students learning patterns, a failure.

Some reasons why the questionnaire may not have been completed follow:

- a. Teachers' attitude toward questionnaire in general.
- b. Assistant principal who gave permission did not tell the principal about questionnaire.

- c. Although assistant principal gave consent to project, he presented it negatively by telling a faculty conference it was a "research project for a course," though the writers were not taking courses at that time.
- d. Many teachers were faced with a conflict in the questionnaire which challenged them to defend and/or contemplate their procedures.

It was interesting that all the teachers ignored the question of education as a socially desirable goal among the lower class. All who recognized the problems assumed that curriculum changes would solve them entirely, including behavior problems. Only one teacher recognized one major point that even if the curriculum changes occurred, other changes would need to be made in the content of the lower class level such as vocabulary, maps, charts, and books.

It was assumed by some that vocational guidance and vocational education would render these children useful. Obviously, few academic teachers took the trouble to visit the children's shop classes where they would have found the same problem in spite of the students' love for the daily periods of shop and general dislike of four daily academic periods. These pupils cannot read or write or do simple arithmetic, even though these skills are necessary in the shop. Theoretically, they should be motivated, as vocational students in vocational shops of *their choice*, to learn the skills necessary for their work. They cannot read job instructions in the shop, figure fractional formulae, or write orders given over the telephone.

Perhaps too much is assumed when we reason that children, given modern vocational shops, will be motivated to learn the skills needed to carry out the trades they are learning. Perhaps there is a level of abstract thinking beyond their abilities upon which the assumption is made: that children will reason, "I want to own my own shop; I will need to know how to read and figure job orders and do income tax reports and pay employees." As one co-worker suggested, they may need practice in abstract thinking to develop these simple skills. Obviously, the answer is not in curriculum changes alone, because in this school, at least, the children have chosen a particular school and a specific field, have selected within the school a particular phase of the field, and have been given the wherewithal to exhibit the motivation which the theory would lead one to expect.

As the system stands, we are practicing a form of natural selection in which the middle class pupils (among whom education is desirable) will learn the skills and become entrepreneurs, while the lower

class children (among whom education is not desirable) will not learn more than is necessary to become a mechanic's assistant, a baker's assistant, or filling station attendant.

In recapitulation, we find that we have a group of lower class children in a vocational school which we will consider physically adequate and suitable for vocational education. They do not comprehend the concept of relating, contrasted with our specialized, departmentalized society. They are not presently capable of abstract thinking to the point of appreciating the future need to read, write, and figure. They are not actually "on the job."

These children are adolescents deriving strength from their in-group whose values are against education. They are taught by subject-minded teachers through middle class media—books, charts, maps—and given homework.

These students are failures by their presence in a vocational school, for those with higher marks go to academic or commercial schools. They are deserted after five months by any teacher who befriends them and tries to help them solve their problems because of the teacher turnover and the students moving on to another teacher.

It may be wise to avoid making low grades a pre-requisite for vocational school entrance. For development, it would seem wise to have the same teacher remain with the class longer than one term so that a friendly relationship may be built and the students have a greater opportunity to take on middle class manners of behavior through a respect for the teacher.

These suggestions are not given with the assumption that they will result in changing the lower socio-economic group objections to education, but with the hope that they may sidestep the effect of education being considered an undesirable goal.

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